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ABSTRACT

Focusing upon the central problems of effective community practice in town and country areas, the four speeches in this collection emphasize some key analytical notions in what has been termed an interactional or activity field conception of community. Among the ideas emphasized are the complexity/integration and the coordination/integration of community structure and the coordinating association and the service agency as key organizations in community development. The four papers are titled and sub-titled as follows: (1) "Community Development: Dialectics in Practice and Theory" (Technology and Community Structure; Community Structures and Processes; Multiple Fields and Goal-Structure Interaction; Community Coordination and Development Models); (2) "Two Basic Structures in the Development of the Modern Community" (Community Coordinating Structures; The Service Agency; Basic Structures, Development Models, and Goal Attainment); (3) "The Multi-County Area as a Community" (The Social Field Perspective; The Emerging Rural-Urban Locality; Two or More Fields in a Multicounty Area; Type of Field and Nature of Integration; Integration of the Multicounty Area); (4) "The Community Association and Comprehensive Development" (Structural Dimensions; New Structures and Projects; The Coordination of Organization; Use of External Resources; Local Development and Community Theory). (JC)

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Conceptualization For Practice In Town and Country

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Conceptualization For Practice In Town And Country

Harold F. Kaufman

Report No. 45
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INTRODUCTION

Work in community is no exception to the statement that research and practice frequently go their separate ways. Each, the researcher and the practitioner, has his own language, colleagues and audience. Many community practitioners know little if anything of research done in ecology or ethnography, or the theory of social systems. Likewise researchers and theorists often have little if any conception of the problems of practitioners.

The papers brought together in this publication, although they frequently use the language of research, focus on problems central in effective community practice. Although much of what is presented has implications for communities of various sizes and degrees of complexity, special attention is paid to the town and country area, an intermediate type of community.

The first paper, with the subtitle "Dialectics in Practice and Theory", deals with several issues and problems central to community practice. Two problems deal with keeping a balance between (1) technology and organization and (2) the creation of services (differentiation) and keeping them related (integration) so they can be effectively used. Another set of problems deal with the fact that in communities of any size there is more than one area or field of action, and that each field has a different set of problems and needs a different type of structure for its solutions. Neither researcher nor practitioner has made this condition sufficiently explicit so that frequently programming has been ineffective because of the lack of suitable organization for the needs to be met. In this treatment this situation is termed "goal-structure incongruity."

The second paper focuses on what is considered to be two basic structures in the development of the modern community, at least for the intermediate size one. These structures are (1) the locally supported coordinating organization and (2) the service agency, often externally sponsored. These two types of organizations are discussed in some detail and it is proposed they suggest somewhat distinctive action styles and development models. The first named may be termed a coordinative style and the community model, while the second is designated as an autonomous style and the agency model.

In the third paper, the two organizations, the coordinating association and the service agency, are employed in analyzing whether the multicounty area as presently constituted can be regarded as a community. Many services provided today demand a population base larger than the typical county and thus the emergence of multicounty service areas. State and federal governments have shown special interest in organizing these areas as a means of service delivery as is seen in their support of development districts. There is serious question, however, if multiareas have yet developed sufficient grassroots involvement -- the multi-interest coordinative structure and generalized leadership to be defined as communities.

The fourth and final paper describes development in a specific community in which the community association conducts comprehensive development. Here is found coordinating and service orientations in the same organization. The association is seen as providing the initiative in conducting three basic activities involved in development. These are (1) the creation and elaboration of new projects and structures (2) the coordination of programs and organizations to the end that comprehensive development is realized, and (3) an extensive but selective use of resources from the larger society for program accomplishment.

The four papers, written over a period of four or five years, have been reproduced because they emphasize some key analytical notions in what has been termed an interactional or activity field conception of community. As the papers were written independently some repetition may be noticed but in each instance it provides emphasis for key ideas. Three key notions are mentioned above and treated in the papers to follow. One notion is that of multiple community fields in localities of any complexity. A second emphasis is on two dimensions of social organization, in this case community structure, namely, (1) complexity and integration and (2) coordination and integration.[1] The third notion focuses on two key organizations in development, (1) the coordinating association and (2) the service agency.

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1. A third dimension, resulting from field research and treated in more recent papers, has been termed openness and mobility.

I. COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT: DIALECTICS IN PRACTICE AND THEORY*

For those who have a major commitment to the sociology of community, a search for a rigorous definition of the term community development is essential. This is a part of the larger task of conceptualizing a framework for community research which will contribute to both theory and practice. Although some consensus exists that community development refers to a multi-interest, configurational approach to promoting change in a locality of limited size, neither of the terms appears to have much usefulness and prestige among most social theorists, especially the word development.

The term "community development" is seldom, if ever, found in the more prestigious journals. Blumer[1] reviews uses and implications of the closely related concept "social development." He finds that confusion and ambiguities abound concerning the notion and is pessimistic concerning its prospects for rigorous sociological analysis. In contrast to the lack of serious effort on the part of researchers is the widespread and growing interest of practitioners in community development as seen in new publications, organizations, etc.

This paper focuses on some basic issues or, more formally stated, dialectics,[2] which need to be made explicit and utilized toward the end of a rigorous conceptualization of the field of community and community change. Three types of dialectics are articulated below.

First presented is the practice or policy dialectic which views community development either as a technology to accomplish given objectives or as community organization--structure for the improvement of the total way of life. The second dialectic deals with different notions of community structure and process. Prominent is the interaction of the basic processes of differentiation and integration which is necessary to any consideration of structural change. The third dialectic, utilizing the preceding two, attempts a more encompassing conceptualization by articulating the two dichotomies designated as (1) goal-structure congruity or incongruity and (2) a coordinated or an autonomous action style. This argument provides the basis for the formulation of community development models or strategies and their relative efficiency in goal attainment.

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*This is journal paper No. 39 of the Social Science Research Center, Mississippi State University. A summarization of a longer version of this paper was presented at the annual meeting of the Society for the Study of Social Problems in 1971 in Denver, Colorado. A version of the first part of the paper was presented earlier, at the 1970 annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society.

Technology and Community Structure

In structural terms the dominant characteristic of the age is the increase in the number and complexity of organizations to carry and to express the various technologies based on their underlying sciences. Other interests such as religion and the fine arts have likewise become organizationally much more complex. Each specialized organization has its own services to offer given publics. The how of the delivery of services at the local level is frequently stated as the major problem of state and national agencies. Thus services and products are the focus of the technologist rather than process and structure. If he has a concern for structure and process, it is likely to focus on his own organization, the locus of his job. He is most unlikely to have either the concern or expertise of a community organization specialist who focuses on the interrelationships, coordination, and integration of the numerous groups in the local society or community.

The issue in community development emphasizing technology versus community structure is found in two major recurring themes in the evaluation of community improvement programs. The first emphasizes the improvement of material conditions of life and measures of success in terms of technical gains and economic growth. This type of development is sometimes expressed as the achievement of "physical targets" and is specific and decidedly limited in its goal orientation. The second theme covers the whole gamut of societal goals, and focuses on the development of local groups which have skill in problem solving, strong identification with the locality, and a spirit of self-reliance.[3] Economists, engineers, and related specialists tend to emphasize technological gains while educators, social workers, and persons of similar orientation tend to emphasize group skills and self-reliance.

Technology

Community development as seen by the technologist has a strong bureaucratic coloring. A given type of organization or population is the means to realizing technical goals. The improvement of agriculture and rural life may be used as a case in point. In developing countries, e.g., the rural community and especially peasant agriculture are seen as expendable. As organizational means, they are to be evaluated in how efficiently they utilize sufficient fertilizer, improved seeds, and adequate supply of water in food production. Following the bureaucratic model, the goals and behavior of rural people, other than those relating to specified producer roles, are irrelevant in this approach to community development.

As a bureaucrat, the developer is frequently irritated by the average man who wishes his work to have meaning in terms of his other interests--the person who wishes to live a whole rather than a segmented life. The developer usually plays either one of two key roles, the manager or the specialist. He "intervenes" in the life of "the target population" when he, the developer or "the change agent," deems it desirable. "Systems management" is a frequently employed tool in organizing groups engaged in production.

Community Organization

In contrast to the above autonomous and segmented approach is the notion of community development conceived as an interrelated type of change involving all institutional and associational goals and interests of the local society. From the standpoint of community organization, the change desired is comprehensive development, multiprogram activity rather than single program activity.

Community development is not only concerned with the entire range of collective goals found in local social life but also with group structures by which the goals are realized. As noted below, a central problem in community development is the discovery of appropriate structures for realizing given goals. The interrelation of goal attainment and group structure is an approach that has been used repeatedly in studying social life in situations varying from small groups to global societies. The focus on the one hand is on the relation of persons one to the other, the social-emotional climate, or interactional patterns, while on the other hand, the ends of behavior are expressed in terms of the attainment of group goals, project accomplishment, or the realization of societal needs.

Community Structures and Processes

Complementary to the dialectic in practice of technical goals versus group structures is the theoretical one of evaluating the several notions of community structure and process. Obviously comparing and contrasting community theories is beyond the scope of one paper. All that can be done here is to mention a few of the more relevant approaches and to make some observations on one perspective which the writer has found useful. A brief discussion of two highly general but community-relevant processes is followed by noting different ways of conceptualizing structure.

Differentiation and Integration

Differentiation and integration, the division of labor and consensus, are to be regarded as two master processes in community life as well as in all other types of societies. These two processes have long been a central concern of sociologists and are either explicit or implicit in the classical societal typologies such as gemeinschaft and gesellschaft. Although the designations of the processes vary, Wirth observed more than a generation ago that "The emphasis upon one or the other of these dual aspects of human group life reappears persistently in the history of our discipline."[4]

The process of social differentiation is to be found in two forms, horizontal and vertical, in all societies of any complexity. So-called horizontal differentiation is analyzed in terms of the number of recognized institutional interest areas such as education, health, agriculture, and industry, and the extent and complexity of associational life. The second type of differentiation, sometimes referred to as vertical, is expressed in terms of social rank or status. This type of division is hierarchical, is based on superiority, equality or inferiority, and is determined by the value system of the society.

In order to discover the scope or degree of differentiation of society, some notion of institutional and associational interest areas is necessary. Once these are specified, such as economic, religious, educational, health, welfare, etc., then specific measures may be defined. The community scope or generality of a given actor's participation, e. g., may be measured in terms of (1) the number of areas in which he has organizational memberships, (2) the number of interest areas in which the actions in which he participates are found, and (3) the number of interest areas in which he is reputed to take part. The above measures were used by the writer and associates in both a study of Indian villages and in a study of small cities in the United States.

Differences between villages at a relatively high level of technical development and those at a much lower level were very marked with respect to the complexity of the associational structure. There were not only many more associations in the developed villages but the associations also represented more interest areas and had greater and more widespread participation on the part of villagers. The growth of associational structures was not confined to programs such as agriculture, education, and health, but was also found to be present in religious and leisure time activities. Greater vertical differentiation was found in the developed villages in terms of more class hierarchies and channels of social mobility.

Two small southern cities similar in size and technology were quite similar with respect to the degree of interest differentiation among the most institutionalized organizations. Concerning new programs, however, especially those with the disadvantaged and rural populations, one locality was found to have a decidedly higher level of differentiation in terms of projects and associations created to support these projects than had the other community.

The extent of coordination and integration necessary is to be seen in relation to the nature of differentiation of the local society. MacIver has noted the differentiation of society at three stages of complexity.[5] The simplest societies have no noticeable interest differentiation and are a complex of communal customs. The second stage he designated as "differentiated communal institutions." Group life is still relatively simple but some institutional practices have become distinct. "Differentiated associations" represent the third stage which characterizes modern society.

Landecker's four types of integration have been widely used and correspond roughly to the three levels of the community field analysis noted below.[6] His "communicative integration" is appropriate at the social level, "cultural" and "normative integration" at the institutional level, and "functional integration" at the ecological level. Landecker's "communicative integration" is similar to the term coordination employed here. Coordination is primarily a social rather than a cultural process of relating the several actions or programs representing the several interest areas of the local society so that the desired ends are realized. Coordination to be effective is accompanied by some degree of normative or cultural integration--the acquiring of common, basic values as well as consensus on short-run goals.

Differentiation and integration are reciprocal and complementary processes. It was noted above that development as expressed through differentiation results in structural complexity--the multiplication and elaboration of associations and the specialization of institutions. The integrative aspect of development is expressed through new patterns of coordination appropriate to the increased structural complexity to the end that individual needs are met and groups' goals are attained.

When new and effective integrative patterns do not "develop" along with increasingly complex technical and related structures, personal alienation and disorganization and social disorder are likely to appear. This is a condition found especially in much of the urban world today in both the technologically advanced and the developing countries.

Conceptions of Community Structure

As development is a type of social change, no justification is needed for an emphasis on process. Sociologists, however, have long recognized that an exclusive focus on process without due consideration to the structural context leads to vagueness and ambiguity. Thus, perhaps the greatest theoretiical need in community development analysis is an adequate theory of structure. As König has written, "the decisive question" is whether "there is really a specific structural 'community' form."[7]

The theoretical search is for both (1) notions which will provide a general perspective and (2) concepts at a lower level of abstraction which can be utilized in the collection and analysis of data. Two approaches employed at the latter level are (1) the analysis of development organizations and (2) the investigation of interorganizational relationships. The literature on community organization is replete with community-like organizations such as community councils, urban neighborhood associations, rural community development clubs, etc. Recently more attention has also been paid to the description of nation-wide structures, such as Panchayati Raj in India,[8] and to the analysis of development organization and bureaucracy.[9] Although the development organization provides a more obvious structure for identifying the community, interorganizational analysis appears especially appropriate where such comprehensive structures appear to be lacking such as in the larger cities.[10]

Several general perspectives have been employed in community analysis.[11] Most of these have common elements and are somewhat eclectic; they gain their distinctiveness from their emphasis. The ecological perspertice, for example, emphasizes the relation between the society and the environment with focus on economic activities in terms of sustenance and competition.[12] Many studies have taken various types of institutional perspectives including the social system approach. Work has been done by anthropologists and others in preindustrial as well as modern societies.[13] Two of the most recently published texts in the field of community have used the social system as the central organizing concept.[14]

As basis of comparison and contrast with the community viewed as a social system is the newly emerging conception of the community as a social field.[15] This latter perspective is employed with respect to the basic issues in community development raised below. Some notion of the different emphasis of the two above perspectives is seen in designating the social system as focusing on structure-function and the social field on structure-process. The former appears to stress more the desirability of the continuity of a given community structure than does the latter.

When the community is viewed as a social field,[16] three key concepts are utilized in collecting and analyzing data, namely, actors, associations, and actions. Associations are the relevant organizations and informal groups; actions are the programs, projects, and other activities; and the actors are participants, leaders, and followers, in the relevant actions, associations, and groups. Although focus is on the social level of analysis, two other levels are relevant and provide the necessary context for understanding the social field. These are (1) the institutional or cultural and (2) the ecological, place and people.

The Basic Issues in Community Development

The basic issues raised by both the practical and theoretical dialectic deals with the creation of structures which will facilitate (1) differentiation, the growth of technology and the related services, and (2) integration, effective coordination of interests and activities. The above suggests two major analytical problems. The one deals with making explicit the desired goals, ends or objectives, both specific and short run as well as more general ones, and the relating or creation of the appropriate structures for realizing the desired goals. The second problem is that of coordination of programs and the normative integration of institutions to the end that some measure of local society unity and identity will result.

Multiple Fields and Goal-Structure Interaction

The problem of conceptualizing the growing complexity of structure, of action and of goal attainment is approached by the use of the two notions of (1) multiple social fields in the same locality designated in general terms as the community of the family or residence, and the community of work, and (2) goal-structure interaction which may result in congruity or incongruity. Goal-structure incongruity results when the field context of the problem is ignored and structures inappropriate to goal attainment are attempted.

Multiple Fields

The separation of work from residence is a highly significant change to note in the understanding of community structure. In the traditional rural community the arena of work and the arena of residence merged. Man's job and his family were both in the same locality. This was true of rural America as long as it was agricultural. This has been the condition in agricultural villages throughout the world. But with technological advancement and urbanization job and family, work and residence, have become separated.

The community of residence is the arena of socialization for children and youth as well as the basis for continuing this process for adults. The geographic locale for this type of association is the residential neighborhood. This locality tends to be child and family centered with the dominant services consisting of retail stores, churches, elementary schools, and recreational facilities.

The community or world of work is the production region, the place of wholesale and the larger retail markets, the location of specialized services, and the arena for government and politics. In terms of settlement patterns and density of population, two types of localities may be seen as production regions. The one is the metropolis with its central city, its suburbs, and possibly satellite towns. The other is the small city or larger town centered multicounty job, market, and service area. This latter type of locality is increasing rapidly in importance not only in the United States but in other parts of the world especially where the economy has been primarily agricultural.

It is not uncommon for students of rural and urban society to recognize several levels of organization within a given locality. This position is congenial, e.g., with Greer's description of "four levels of organization of residential areas" in the metropolis. These are the "household, neighborhood, residential community, and the municipality."[17] To this list might be added the metropolitan region itself as a field. Three types of localities have been delineated in nonmetropolitan society, namely, the neighborhood, the smaller trade center community, and the larger multicounty area.

Differentiation as an aspect of the development process is thus to be seen as creating two or more distinct fields in a given locality as well as making some of them structurally more complex. Likewise, the reciprocal aspect of the total development process, new integrative patterns, must accompany the increase in number of fields as well as the growth in complexity of structures of given fields.

Similarity is to be seen between the community of residence and the community of work and the classical societal typologies such as those by Maine, Durkheim, Tonnies, and others. Maine's typology lifted up status and contract, Durkheim the mechanical and the organic. To Durkheim "mechanical solidarity" or consensus, was dominant in the small, simple, isolated community while "organic solidarity" or "the division of labor" was the chief source of integration in modern society. Tonnies designated his types gemienschaft and gesselschaft, loosely translated as community and society. Robin Williams, after reviewing some of the classical types, uses the terms communal and associational societies; the latter notion has been developed by MacIver.

The significant difference between the community of work and the community of residence typology and the classical ones is that is has generally been assumed in discussion of the classical typologies that these societies and ways of living were separated in time and space. For modern man they are no longer separated at least in time. Modern man lives in two worlds.

Some distinguishing characteristics of the two above types of communities or societies are suggested in Table 1. Certainly the family and the bureaucracy are the two groups most characteristic of the two types of structures. The intimacy and orientation of interaction and action are an elaboration of each of the two group types.

Table 1. Dominant Structural Characteristics Distinguishing the Community of Residence from the World of Work

	Community of	
Characteristic	Residence	Work
Dominant Group	Family and Kin	The Organization and Bureaucracy
Intimacy of Interaction	Primary	Secondary
Dominant General Goals	Socialization	Production
Value Orientation:		
Focus	Group and Person	Technology
Action sequence	Intrinsic, ultimate	Instrumental, the means

Goal-Structure Interaction

The conception of social field provides a context for the discussion of goal structure congruity or incongruity. Incongruity results when the attempt is made to realize goals with inappropriate structures. In the vernacular of community development this results in "the spinning of wheels" and ineffective programming. One starts, at least analytically, with goals, not structures. Given the goal the existing structure should be adapted if it is not effective or a new one created to realize the given objectives. In other words, the ends determine the means, not the reverse.[18]

Goals and structures, ends and means, are both logically and sociologically interrelated. Logically it may be maintained that "the means, once discovered to be relevant and adequate, provide the basis for evaluating" the end.[19] Goals are both logically and sociologically a part and parcel of what it takes, the means, to achieve them. The action process central in community field theory points up goal definition and attainment as well as the structure necessary in carrying out the activities concerned.

Prominent objectives in development today, whether in country or city, at home or abroad, are providing (1) education for the young, (2) jobs for the unemployed, and (3) care for the dependent populations. Elementary education and industrial growth may be taken as cases in point. Analysis would, no doubt, reveal that the most effective elementary education takes place in a structural configuration in which the elementary school is enmeshed in a web of primary groups consisting of families, play groups, PTA, etc., operating in a relatively small, homogeneous population.

On the other hand, for rapid and extensive industrial growth, a much different type of structure is necessary. Here, large-scale, bureaucratic associations serving a large, heterogeneous population seem to be most effective. In the first case, the relevant community field is the residential neighborhood while in the latter, it is the "multicounty" or metropolitan region.

To sharpen the notion of goal-structure incongruity, one should ask the question relative to the above cases: How effective would the elementary school be in promoting regional industrial growth, or the regional industrial board in conducting elementary education? Before the question is dismissed as so preposterous and ludicrous as to be irrelevant, one should look at the controversies in public education in which public figures holding even the highest offices in the land are involved. Attempts are being made to realize the goals of elementary education with structures fairly suitable for a locality of 5,000 in areas with populations 10 to 100, and even 1,000 times as large. Also, education which appears to thrive in nexus of primary group relationships is being attempted by bussing children many miles through metropolitan areas with highly diverse populations numbering in the hundreds of thousands and millions.

The discussion has been organized as a dialectic. In a dialectic solutions are not reached through the rejection of one alternative and the acceptance of the other, but rather by elaborating the interrelationship of the two and by providing an emphasis. The emphasis here suggests a definition of community development in which it is conceived as a comprehensive effort conducted through a network or configuration of structures with integration of structure necessarily accompanying differentiation, and group needs or ends not subverted by structural means.

At the policy level the desirability of rapid technological change is not questioned, but rather the basic concern is whether or not essential institutions, such as the family and religion, are expendable and must be radically altered to facilitate economic growth.[20] The position taken here is that all basic institutions should receive attention through programs of comprehensive development.

Although the conception of goal-structure incongruity may imply the practice of "goal displacement," in that the organization becomes an end in itself, it is much more than this. The position is taken here that goal-structure incongruity results largely from (1) bureaucratic bias and (2) ignoring ecological dimensions of the community field. The use of ineffective structures results partly from the tendency of urban-oriented policy makers and analysts to minimize, if not to overlook entirely, the importance of primary groups and relationships and to emphasize large-scale, bureaucratic structures.[21]

Much confusion results in community development because the ecological dimensions of the community field are frequently overlooked. Size, density, and settlement pattern along with level of technology are necessary control and contextual variables in the study of community fields. Although sociologists since Simmel have noted how the size of the group influences its structure, many practitioners and analysts alike deal with programs and actions without regard to the population dimensions of the field for which these efforts are being planned. The reorganization of schools, poverty programs, and similar efforts provide excellent examples of the attempt to utilize impersonal and externally based organizations to carry out objectives which call for structures dominated by primary interaction and local participants.

The community in the modern world is a creative mix of both primary and secondary relationships.[22] As noted above, the residential neighborhood has a relatively small population and is comprised of a network of primary groups while arenas for work have much larger populations and are dominated by large-scale structures. The task of community development is to delineate the relevant locality fields and to discover those structures most appropriate to solve given problems and to meet the needs of community residents.

Community Coordination and Development Models

Integration is the reciprocal process of differentiation in practice as well as theory. It is at this point, however, that the practitioner as well as the theorist has been weakest. New and effective coordinating structures have not kept pace with the growth in number and complexity of programs. Theoretically, a part of the difficulty has been articulated above, namely, the lack of an in-depth analysis of the nature of differentiation and of the distinction among fields and the accompanying goal-structure problem. Even, however, if the above problem is given proper recognition, there remains the need for the development of effective coordination and integrating structures at the various levels or fields of activity. Theory and research on integrating structures lack much to be desired.[23]

The policy dialectic described above as "technology and community structure" may be represented through two key types of organizations in the modern community, namely, the service agency and the community coordinating association. The major contribution of the service agency in development is to provide technical, financial and other services, while the coordinating association gives the necessary local support and the interrelating of programs. In terms of coordination and integration the latter type of group by it's nature makes a stron contribution while the service agency frequently tends toward autonomy in it's action style.

The development model may be designated by the one of the two above groups which is dominant in a given situation. If, for example, comprehensive development with strong coordination appears to be the pattern then development may be characterized as following the "community model". On the other hand, if the various service agencies operate fairly autonomously then the "agency model" would seem to be the appropriate typing. These two key organizations and their interrelationships are treated in some detail in the following paper entitled, "Two Basic Structures in the Development of the Modern Community."

Footnotes

1. Herbert Blumer, "The Idea of Social Development," Studies in Community International Development, Vol. 2, 1966, pp. 3-11.

2. A dialectic is "The theory and practice of weighing and reconciling interposed or contradictory arguments for the purpose of arriving at truth, especially through discussion and debate," New Standard Dictionary of the English Language, New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co., 1950.

3. Cf. Melvin M. Tumin, "Some Requirements for Effective Community Development," Community Development Review, No. 11, December 1958, pp. 1-40.

4. Louis Wirth, "The Scope and Problems of Community," reprinted in Albert J. Reiss, Jr., ed., Louis Wirth on Cities and Social Life, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964, Chapter 11.

5. Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, Society, New York: Rinehart, 1949, pp. 597-599.

6. Werner S. Landecker, "Types of Integration and Their Measurement," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. LVI, No. 4, January 1951, pp. 332-338.

7. Rene König, The Community, New York: Schocken Books, 1968, p. 3.

8. See Carl C. Taylor, Douglas Ensminger, Helen W. Johnson, and Jean Joyce, India's Roots of Democracy, Calcutta: Orient Longmans, Ltd., 1965.

9. Cf. Berton H. Kaplan, "Notes on a Non-Weberian Model of Bureaucracy: The Case of Development Bureaucracy," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 13, No. 3, December 1968, pp. 471-483. This writer was guest editor of this Journal issue which was devoted entirely to the topic of "organizations and Social Development." See also, Victor A. Thompson, "Administrative Objectives for Development Administration," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 9, June 1964, pp. 91-108. This writer regards the organizational and administrative approach to date to have little or no value for development because of the "preoccupation with control" rather than with "adaptive administration" and "constant change."

10. See Roland L. Warren, "The Interorganizational Field as a Focus for Investigation," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, December 1967, pp. 396-419; and Eugene Litwak and L. F. Hyeton, "Inter-organizational Analysis: A Hypothesis on Co-ordinating Agencies," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 6, 1960-61, pp. 395-420.

11. For reviews, see Richard L. Simpson, "Sociology of the Community: Current Status and Prospects," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 30, No. 2, June 1965, p. 129; August B. Hollingshead, "Community Research: Development and Present Condition," American Sociological Review, Vol. 13, No. 2, April 1948, pp. 136-156; and George A. Hillery, Jr., "Definitions of Community: Areas of Agreement," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 20, No. 2, June 1955, pp. 111-123.

12. Position in an ecological view of community may be viewed as a niche in the process of gaining sustenance and residence. Distance between ecological positions may be measured in terms of time, transportation, and economic costs. For a statement of the ecological perspective, see Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology*, New York: Ronald Press, 1950, especially Chapter 12. For a critical review of the work done earlier in the ecological field, see M. A. Alihan, *Social Ecology*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

13. Robert Redfield, *The Little Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955; and Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown*, New York: Harcourt Brace, 1929; and James West, Plainville U. S. A., New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.

14. Irwin T. Sanders, *The Community: An Introduction to a Social System*, New York: Ronald Press, 1966 (second edition); and Roland L. Warren, *The Community in America*, Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1965.

15. For a more general treatment of the notion of field with relevance for the discussion below, see J. Milton Yinger, *Toward a Field Theory of Behavior: Personality and Social Structure*, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1965. Cf. also Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "The Analysis of Situational Fields in Social Psychology, *American Sociological Review*, Vol. VII, No. 3, June 1942, pp. 370-382.

16. Kenneth P. Wilkinson, "The Community as a Social Field," *Social Forces*, Vol. 48, No. 3, March 1970; and Harold F. Kaufman, "Toward an Interactional Conception of Community," *Social Forces*, Vol. 38, October 1949, pp. 8-17; and Willis A. Sutton and Jiri Kolaja, "The Concept of Community," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 25, June 1960, pp. 197-198.

17. Scott Greer, *The Emerging City*, Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1962, Chapter 4, "The Community of Limited Liability;" quotations were taken from p. 120.

18. Cf. the incongruity of "cultural goals and institutional norms" in Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in his *Social Theory and Social Structure*, New York: Free Press, 1949, pp. 125-149. It should be noted, however, that the problem treated by Merton is in a different structural context than that of concern in this paper.

19. Claude C. Bowman, "Evaluations and Values Consistent with the Scientific Study of Society, "*American Sociological Review*, Vol. 8, June 1943, pp. 306-311.

20. Of the several writers who question this position, see Milton Yinger, "Changing Craft Traditions in India," in W. E. Moore and A. S. Feldman, eds., *Labor Commitment and Social Change in Developing Areas*, Social Science Research Council, 1960, Chapter 14. Yinger maintains that traditional institutions are not necessarily barriers to technological change but may adjust and even support it.

21. Eugene Litwak and Henry J. Meyer, "A Balance Theory of Coordination Between Bureaucratic Organizations and Community Primary Groups," *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 11, June 1966, pp. 31-58.

22. MacIver and Page, *op. cit.*, Chapters 17-21. MacIver in a highly penetrating analysis distinguishes between what might be called intrinsic organization or "culture," and instrumental organization or "civilization." These he terms "two great areas of human experience and of human activity." Intrinsic or "cultural" associations are the church, club, and "thousands of other organizations devoted to things in which people find direct fulfillment."

23. True, there have been efforts to wrestle with the problem such as Louis Wirth's emphasis on the development of consensus. In his urban research, Wirth regarded the realization of consensus as the central problem in practice and theory (see his "Consensus and Mass Communication," in Reiss, *op cit.*, Chapter 2). Theorists appear to skirt the issue of effective integrating structures by expressing the hope that the division of labor and resulting organic solidarity as described by Durkheim were adequate.

Mention is sometimes made of "latent coordinating structures" such as the political and economic (see Alvin Boskoff, *The Sociology of Urban Regions*, New York: Appleton Century-Crofts, 1962, Chapter 14, especially pp. 286 ff). Scott Greer discusses integration in the metropolis in terms of "private governments within functional segments of the society" and societal norms as integrating forces. The same writer states, however, that "key tasks" can only be handled through adequate polity or government (see his *The Emerging City*, New York: Free Press, 1962, especially Chapter 2; quotes from p. 65).

II. TWO BASIC STRUCTURES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE MODERN COMMUNITY*

The two basic structures necessary for effective development in the modern community pointed up in this treatment are (1) the community coordinating organization and (2) the service agency. These two types of structures are described in some detail in this paper, and characteristics of an effective model for coordination and development is presented. The type of organization dominant in a given community situation may be considered to shape critically the style of action. Thus, one may speak of a "community action model" or of an "agency model".

Community Coordinating Structures

In a community of any complexity, coordination, the relating of it's interests and groups, demands the efforts of several organizations. Fortunate is the locality which has a strong community association which can be dominant in this effort, but even here the cooperation of many groups including especially the service agencies is essential.

Coordination is also to be seen and to be measured in terms of the general leaders and other participants. Community as a configuration of associations and interests is the result of this multi-interest participation on the part of a number of persons within a locality.

The extent of coordination and integration necessary is to be seen in relation to the nature of differentiation of the local society. MacIver has noted the differentiation of society at three stages of complexity.[1] The simplest societies have no noticeable interest differentiation and are a complex of communal customs. The second stage he designates as "differentiated communal institutions." Group life is still relatively simple but some institutional practices have become distinct. "Differentiated associations" represent the third stage which characterizes modern society.

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*This presentation is based largely on portions of two earlier papers. One, entitled "Community Development and Multicounty Organization", was prepared for a meeting in Atlanta, Georgia in November 1969 of the Subcommittee on Community Development and Institutions of the Southern Rural Sociology Research Committee. The second paper, entitled "Community Processes and Institutional Change" was presented at the Seminar on Adapting Institutions to conditions of economic growth held in August 1966 at Bozeman, Montana and sponsored jointly by Montana State University and the Center for Agricultural and Economic Development located at Iowa State University.

It is significant to note that associations operating at the community level most always have development as well as coordinating functions. Pure type community-wide councils, although prominent in the literature of community organization, are seldom found, and when they are, generally have a precarious existence. Coordination as an activity, although most essential for community existence, is difficult to carry out separate from extensive involvement in given projects and programs.

The community coordinating association as a voluntary organization has usually, and sometimes entirely volunteer leadership while that of the agency is paid. It appears that in the intermediate size and smaller localities voluntary associations and leadership have key roles to play in development. Generalized leaders and other generalized participants not only play major roles in community integration but also make strategic and extensive contributions to project accomplishment.

Coordinating Structures and Size of Locality

Leadership, coordinating, and development structures are influenced by locality size. The smallest type of locality has an inclusive membership organization, such as a community club, and generalized leadership. The all inclusive membership organization has seldom been found, however, in localities with populations over 1,000. Community clubs do not appear to be able to compete with specialized civic organizations.

At the second population level generalized leadership is still present, but multiinterest coordinating and development associations take the place of neighborhood-wide membership groups. This type of locality may have centers up to 50,000 to 100,000. Multicounty localities appear at this level.

With populations of 250,000 or larger, the metropolitan situation emerges. Here planning and coordination of several interests by one group is not possible. Multi-interest coordinating groups give way to single interest councils. Government tends to emerge as the dominant association. It is most difficult, if not impossible, however, for government alone to operate effectively over the broad spectrum of local activities ranging from those found in the residential neighborhood to those of the production region—from primary schools and neighborhood centers to port and transportation authorities.

Characteristics of Effective Structures

Six characteristics of an effective community coordinating structure are described. A seventh characteristic was noted above, namely, that coordination is seldom an isolated activity, but is usually conducted in relation to the sponsorship of given projects and programs. Also to be emphasized is that, although one organization may be dominant, coordination is usually the result of efforts of several groups.

The six characteristics are (1) selectivity in the use of outside resources,

(2) comprehensiveness as to institutional interests, (3) effectiveness in recruiting leadership as well as mass support when necessary, (4) establishment of strong voluntary organizational structure along with effective cooperation of government, (5) an effective blending of organized and informal activities, and (6) a fine mix of normative problems with technical problems, a concern with socialization as well as production.

If the locality is to maintain its identity as a community, it must be selective with respect to its utilization of outside resources. Inasmuch as possible, local leaders should make the decision with respect to the relation of various activities to each other and the degree, if any, to which an external program needs to be adapted or modified to suit the local situation. In contrast to this position is the highly hierarchical, bureaucratic orientation of some regional and national agencies. This highly centralized approach is sometimes advocated for development programs. According to this plan, major decisions are made at the national level. Regional and state decisions fit into these. Below this are the community programs, with the town and country and rural programs being units of a city program. This pyramiding of development programs is assumed to be the goal to achieve "in a fully organized area."[2]

Community development is by definition focused on all major institutional areas of the locality. The basic problems deal with how planning and programming for various areas are to be coordinated and the type of associational structure most appropriate. As a program must be multi-interest if it is to be community in nature, it also must be effective in recruiting leadership and when necessary, gaining mass support. A number of major decisions and efforts with respect to locality development can be carried out by a relatively small group of people. These decisions are frequently highly technical in nature. Some actions, however, for example, those requiring the ballot, call for mass support.

The relation of voluntary organization to government is a basic problem in creating an effective development organization. In areas with little or no organizational base and mass illiteracy, government--frequently the national government--must take an active part, at least to begin with, if development is to proceed with any speed. Government by its very nature has certain coercive and partisan tendencies, even though attempts are often made at the locality level to be non-partisan and to allow freedom of choice. Voluntary efforts in development are more prominent in the United States than in any other part of the world. An analysis of the relation of government to voluntary agencies in effective community programs carried on in the last several decades in the South reveals that voluntary agencies generally take the lead and that government is a cooperator, not the dominant force, in development activities.

The effective community development association must have a blend or balance of organizational rationality with the concerns and intimate communication allowed in primary groups. In classical bureaucratic theory, participation of primary groups is undesirable and "disfunctional." The rationality of the community development association is broader and more flexible than that pictured in the ideal type bureaucracy. Means and ends are never defined as precisely and their relationship never quite as explicitly in the development association as in the other type of social organization. The objectives of a community development association are much broader and more general than those of the bureaucracy, and thus the organizational means to realize these objectives must be more diverse. Decision making and participation at various levels of program accomplishment are much more pluralistic with respect to the development association than in the case of the bureaucracy.

The effective development association must be involved in the normative aspects of institutions as well as in the technical, and is concerned with socialization as well as with production. Action frequently begins with technical problems, but if most effective in creating locality structure, it must also wrestle vtih normative concerns.

The order of a society is based on its norms. Thus, because of their intrinsic nature and value, norms are more difficult to change than are the technical aspects of institutions. So-called obsolete institutions frequently exist because alternative means or technology have not been found to realize given values. For example, smaller schools nearer to the homes of the children concerned may rationally be defended by the parents, not because of the technical equality or superiority to larger, more distant ones, but because the former are more likely to support parental control and family unity and to maintain valued contacts with neighbors. The outsider with a purely technical orientation may see the institution concerned as obsolete and backward and the people involved as ignorant and obstinate. On the otherhand, the effective community leader sees both the normative and the technical aspects of the problem. At the organizational level this means a fine mix and a careful blending of the normative and the technical.

The Service Agency

A consideration of the service agencies raises both theoretical and practical concerns. Much of the current emphasis in development at the national, regional and state levels is expressed in terms of more and better "delivery of services" to communities. The organization of state development districts and the creation of multi-county structures have been done largely to facilitate the delivery of services.

A second concern, articulated principally by researches and emphasized here, deals with the service agency as a major contact between the community and the larger society. Although some service agency have local control the trend is toward external control for almost types of agencies.

Locus of Control

In order to make the discussion more specific illustrative cases are presented. Attention is focused on intermediate size localities such as the town and small, city-centered multicounty trade area. In this size locality social structures contributing to development are shown in Table 1. The data are taken from two different national cultures, the United States and India.

The major criterion for classifying the groups in Table 1 is whether the control is locally or externally based. Characteristic of the former type of group is the community coordinating and development as stated above associations, and of the latter the program or service agency which is usually externally based in terms of policies and resources. The community association and related groups provide the local support and coordination of programs while the agency brings in the necessary technical expertise and financial and other resources. At the local level are to be noted both governmental and voluntary associations.

Another type of organization with which the agency may be compared in analyzing the source of control is the membership association. It should be noted at this point that the community coordinating association is almost always a membership organization, either open or selective as to participants. Other kinds of membership associations are indicated in Table 1.

A crucial distinction here between the agency and the membership association is the relation of policy makers to the people served. In the agency control of policy rests with the staff and sometimes with an executive or advisory board, while in the membership association final authority rests with the membership. Of course, sometimes membership associations "abdicate their sovereignty"—allow important decisions to be made by paid staff—and in a sense become agencies. This fact, however, further validates the distinction. Technical decisions, common in development programs, are generally better handled by specialized agency staff than by membership associations; but where sustained mass participation is essential, the latter type of organization becomes not only useful but sometimes necessary.

In terms of the nature of public influence on agency administrators, three common types of agencies may be delineated. These are (1) the administrative, such as the school board or the board of commissioners of the irrigation or drainage district, (2) client-oriented agencies, such as agricultural agencies, welfare department, and the library, and (3) commercial, market-oriented agencies, both private and cooperative.

Sociologists Conception of External Control

Relevant at this point are the observations of Roland Warren and Charles Loomis. Warren sees the "great change" in American communities as an "aggregate" of interrelated trends which is having a "most drastic" effect.[5] "Increasing systemic relationships to the larger society" and bureaucratization are a part of the pattern of change. In this context the central problem of the analysis is: "What is the relation of community social system units to other social system?"[6]

Warren answers the above question through an extensive elaboration of "vertical and horizontal patterns." The latter are "ties" or "aspects of units" within the locality, and the former relate the locality to the larger society.[7] Relevant contributions of these two types of patterns are to be noted in the "correspondence between the community's vertical patterns and performance of task functions and the horizontal patterns and the performance of maintenance functions."[8]

Table 1. Types of Organizations and Groups Contributing to Development in the Intermediate Size, City-Country Community in India and the United States

Type of Organization	Characteristics and Contributions	Illustrative Cases for United States	India
I. External Control			
A. Administrative, program agency	Specialized services and/or funds for local use. Limited interest usually tax supported	Health Dept. Welfare Dept. Cooperative Ext. Service	Health Dept. Welfare Dept. Animal Husbandry Department
II. Local Control			
A. Government and related groups			
1. Elected officials and boards	Control as well as development Multi-interest	Boards of Alderman and of Supervisors	Municipal Committee
2. Appointed boards	Limited interest	School Board Hospital Board	Marketing Board Welfare Board
B. Voluntary associations			
1. Community development associations	Multi-interest Structural innovation and coordination	Community Development Association	Chamber of Commerce Panchayat[3] Samiti
2. Civic clubs	Membership orgs. supportive groups	Rotary Club Women's Clubs	Rotary Club Youth Clubs
3. Informal groups	Initiate innovation conflict control	Generalized leadership networks	Generalized leadership networks
III. Both Types of Control			
A. Market oriented agencies[4] and organizations	Consumer, wholesale, and labor markets, and membership groups	Retail Stores, banks, factories, labor unions	Retail Stores, banks, factories labor unions

Charles Loomis, using systems terminology, did much to popularize the term systemic linkage.[9] Employing this notion, the critical linkage is between large scale organization systems and the community system.[10]

In terms of the field perspective the agency and community are interrelated through (1) the coordinating association and related informal structures and (2) their counterpart, the general leader and other general participants. The two above concepts, opposite sides of the same coin, were discussed above.

The Community Leader and the Bureaucrat

A central focus in the field perspective of the agency and the community is analysis of the interaction between community and bureaucratic leaders. The latter type of leader may be either an administrator or a specialist. The community leader by definition is not only one of broad participation and commitment, but he also possesses the knowledge and skills so as to be effective in the given locality.

A strong community must have leaders who can locate and utilize outside resources. This is true as the major resources for many programs come from outside agencies. The resources include personnel with knowledge and skill as well as financial support and legal authority. Sometimes local leaders help create state and national resources, for example, community leaders working through their political representatives at the state or national level might sponsor legislation to give legal authority for the locality to carry out such an activity as zoning, or to increase financing for public services.

The most common types of representatives of the state or national agency or bureaucracy in a locality are the resident administrator and specialist. Agency representatives vary greatly as to their identification with the locality and their ability to adapt the agency programs to local needs and desires. Flexibility or rigidity of a program results not only from the orientation of the local representative but also from the policy of the national agency or bureaucracy. Some organizations require frequent moves of their personnel to avoid too close an identification with a given locality.

Local Identity and Agency Conflict

A typical bureaucratic approach to the community is to regard it as an instrument or means to a realization of national organizational goals. Community development programs in developing countries as well as the more advanced nations are an excellent case in point. To the national administrator, community development, a particular organization of the locality, is to be evaluated not as an end in itself but as a means to a realization of his program, whether it be economic development or providing social services.

The strong community is one which not only uses outside resources extensively but is also highly selective in their use. It is at the point of adapting outside programs to a particular locality, or even rejecting them, that conflict between the agency and the community is likely to occur. The stronger the community organization the more likely the conflict if the program of the bureaucracy concerned is rigid. Consequently, a given outside bureaucracy might have a local program in which it takes great pride in a locality with a

A source of conflict frequently arises from demands for uniformity on the part of the bureaucracy. Technical standards applied nationally are often justified, but this is frequently possible without strict and extensive social and curltural conformity. Some pluralism in primary group patterns and in community styles as well as a degree of freedom for local initiative is essential if the community is to survive in the modern world.

Basic Structures, Development Models and Goal Attainment

The two basic structures treated in this paper, the coordinating association and the service agency, when seen in terms of process may be designated as two kinds of development models with their characteristic action styles. These models and styles along with a method of evaluating their effectiveness is discussed briefly below.

Action Styles and Development Models

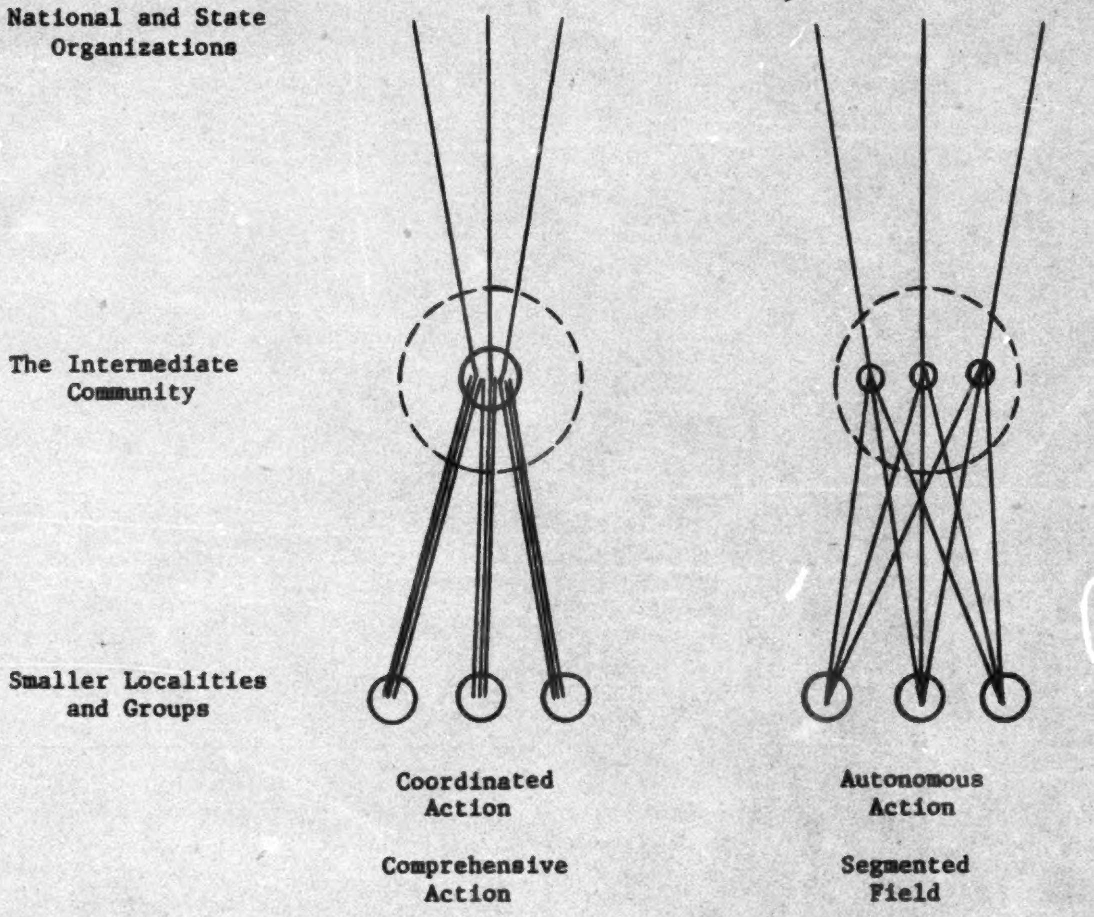
Action styles may be designated in terms of the extent to which given programs are coordinated and related to each other. Figure 2 presents two polar types of situations. The one in which programs are autonomus and discrete may be termed a segmented and partial locality field. The other situation in which programs are coordinated through a strong local development structure may be designated as a comprehensive field and community-like in essence.[11]

Thus from the standpoint of the field perspective areas are communities to the extent that the relevant programs are comprehensive as to interests and coordinated as to effort. The critical factor is the presence of generalized leadership and participation which represent efforts of meeting the needs of the local society. The interaction of personnel from different agencies in cooperative endeavors contributes to the coordinative style as does the concern of government officials. The activity of the professional,[12] however, is no substitute for the generalized volunteer.

A final notation might be made with respect to the relation of program accomplishment to coordination. Some contend that considerable autonomy of an agency is essential for program effectiveness. This is in view of the fact that much program overlap frequently exists. The classical example is the OEO list of 458 federal agencies[13] which have been regarded as being able to make a contribution to local poverty problems. Preliminary observations indicate that the more mass or citizen participation is essential for the success of a program, the greater the need for coordinative structures.

The action style which is described above is only one element of the development model. Other dimensions are noted in Table 3. Here in addition to action style are listed scope of interest, field emphasis, use of resources, and nature and composition of coordination structure.

Figure 2. Styles of Community Action


National and State Organizations
The Intermediate Community
Smaller Localities and Groups
Coordinated Action
Comprehensive Action
Autonomous Action
Segmented Field

Legend:

——— Programs representing different interest areas initiated and/or facilitated by national and state agencies

○ Locality coordinating structure -- "the community field"

o Local offices of national and state organizations

○ Smaller localities and groups

An appropriate question is which of the two models, the community or agency approach to development is the more effective. This leads to a search for a measure of effectiveness. A goal attainment measurement is suggested below but this has its difficulties as is indicated if more than one, or at most a few, programs are to be evaluated.

Table 3. Comparison of the Community and the Agency Models of Locality Development

Characteristic	Model Community	 Agency
Scope of Interest	Comprehensive	Single and Limited
Field Emphasis	Balance of residence and work	Largely task and work oriented
Use of Resources	Selected on basis of local need	Agency competition, duplication
Nature and composition of coordination structure	Associations and informal networks largely of volunteer generalized leaders	None, or councils of paid staff of agencies
Action style	Coordinated	Autonomous

Goal Attainment as a Measure of Effectiveness

The central problem in community development evaluation and research is to discover the most effective structures to attain given goals. Comprehensive development, necessary if the total life of a community is to be affected, not only has a number of goals but goals of greatly different types. Goals may be classified not only in terms of institutional areas, e.g., economic, education, and religion, but also as to whether they are ends in themselves, intrinsic, or merely means to ends, instrumental. Using the latter classification, programs and activities may be conveniently classified into three types: (1) the provision of jobs and ways of making a living; (2) provision of services such as education, public facilities, health and welfare; and (3) meeting interests which are realized by direct personal fulfillment and by activities which are intrinsic and expressive rather than instrumental. These last named activities may be described as humanistic interests and are usually emphasized in leisure time activities and involve the arts, religion, sports, etc.

Goal definition and measurement in comprehensive development are not only difficult because goals are numerous and vary in quality but because they are more qualitative and configurational than additive. For example, jobs and institutional services could be adequate and still the community have much to be wanting. This is true because the good community is defined in terms of the values of those who seek their identity in it, and these values may give human values and humanistic interests priority over the materialistic and technological, e.g., present day disenchanged youth or the monastic orders. In this context the notion of "quality of living" has importance along with information on the range of services and the adequacy of each.

Footnotes

1. Robert M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, *Society*, New York: Rinehart, 1949, pp. 597-599.

2. See H. McKinley Conway, Jr., *Area Development Organizations* (Atlanta: Conway Research Inc., 1966).

3. Quasi-governmental.

4. E.g., many retail establishments are locally owned whereas most factories are branch plants.

5. Roland L. Warren, *The Community in America*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963, especially Chapter 3, entitled "The 'Great Change' in American Communities."

6. *Ibid*., p. 161.

7. *Ibid*., Chapter 8.

8. *Ibid*., p. 243.

9. Charles P. Loomis, "Systemic Linkage of El Cerrito," *Rural Sociology*, Vol. 24, March 1959, pp. 54-57.

10. Comparable to the term "systemic linkage" in functional terms is that in behavioral field language of "overlapping fields," or playing dual or composite roles which coordinate key structures.

11. Cf. Kenneth P. Wilkinson, "Special Agency Program Accomplishment And Community Action Styles: The Case of Watershed Development," Rural Sociology, Vol. 34, pp. 29-42.

12. Some might contend that agency personnel are the major "community" link in the metropolis. Roland Warren and associates are now engaged in an interagency study in nine cities with this focus.

13. Office of Economic Opportunity, Catalogue of Federal Assistance Programs, Washington, D. C.: Information Center, Office of Economic Opportunity, June 1967.

III. THE MULTICOUNTY AREA AS A COMMUNITY*

Much of the work on community has been frequently recognized as lacking the focus, rigor and precision found in research on other major types of social organization, such as the family and bureaucracy. The contention here is that the lack of sophistication in the conceptualization of community is due to the inability to discover relevant structures. Rene König aptly states the issue when he writes that "the decisive question is whether there is really a specific structural community form."[1]

The focus of this paper is on the social structure of the so-called multicounty[2] area. The cetral question is whether or not this area can be conceptualized as a community. An attempt is made (1) to sketch a perspective, the social field notion of community, and (2) to note especially a few of the critical problems which need further teoretical and empirical work. Effort is exerted to keep the discussion in an empirical context through reference to historical trends and current situations.

The Social Field Perspective

The field perspective is to be seen in relation to other approaches to the study of community. Perhaps the two oldest and best articulated traditions in community research are the work of the ecologist on the one hand and that of the anthropologist on the other. The ecological perspective is perhaps the more distinctive and focuses on "spatial" and "biotic" factors in social life. Ecologists see sustenance which is centered in economic life as the basic community structure, and competition as the key process.[3] Anthropological studies focus on the community as a sociocultural whole with the local institution as a major unit of analysis.[4] The community regarded as a social system is closely related to the anthropological emphasis on institutions.[5]

The notion of community as a social field is only briefly outlined here because of limits of space and the fact that a treatment of this perspective is to be found elsewhere.[6] Analysis of community at a social level is to be seen along with two other levels of analysis, namely, the institutional or cultural and the ecological, or place and people. These levels correspond to three elements in community definition on which there is considerable consensus. Community is commonly regarded as a place in which people have a common way of life, possess a configuration of basic norms, values, and institutions, and are able to act together to solve common problems.

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*This is a limited revision of a paper prepared for the annual meeting of the Southern Sociological Society, April 9-11, 1970.

Three key and interrelated concepts around which data are organized at the social level are (1) the actor, (2) the association, and (3) the action. At this level, social structure is represented in the roles of leaders and other actors as they are interrelated in associations. Social process is seen in the analysis of actions. Possibilities for the study of change are built into this concept of structure, as structure and process are opposite sides of the same coin.

In the analysis of structure and change, two essential processes, prominent in sociological literature, are differentiation and integration. These are to be seen as reciprocal and complementary processes in the conceptualization of community and community change. Development is differentiation of structure which is expressed in the multiplication and elaboration of associations, and in the specialization of institutions. As new forms appear, they must be integrated or related to a minimum degree to each other and to existing structures if the society concerned is to maintain its distinctiveness and identity.

The position taken here is that community development means the creation of new patterns of integration along with differentiation, or the increase in volume and complexity of social organization. In more specific terms, the hypothesis is that, as associational and institutional complexity increases, the pattern of integration must change if results are to be effective in terms of project accomplishment and goal attainment.

Unfortunately, the space limits of this paper do not allow for the further treatment of differentiation and of its interaction with the integration process.[7] Two objectives are attempted in the remainder of this paper. One is the delineation of relevant social fields in the multicounty area in terms of ecological and cultural factors and social units. This is treated in an historical context and termed the emerging rural-urban locality. The second objective is to examine the nature and types of integration in each community field.

The Emerging Rural-Urban Locality

A first step in the operation of discovering a community or locality field is to delineate the geographic area and the population concerned. In contrast to the ecological perspective which regards the biotic and spatial as central and sufficient, a social field analysis moves quickly to local actions, actors, and associations. Ecological factors are employed as analytical controls and as an "environmental" context.

With respect to population, an estimate is that the great majority of multicounty areas would range in size from 50,000 to 250,000 and the major centers of these areas from 10,000 to 100,000. Populations of this size as compared with those of a few thousand, which were the focus of rural sociologists a half century ago, clearly indicate what some have termed "the expansion of the town and country community." In other words the focus is shifting from open country neighborhoods to multicounty areas.

This shift may be seen in the movement of services such as retail establishments and schools from the open country to villages and later to the larger centers. Rapid technological advancement in agriculture has increased productivity per worker and has made possible the release of farm people into nonagricultural occupations. This has meant declining population in agricultural areas and the need for fewer services. Accompanying this change has been the very rapid increase in transportation and communication so that at the ecological level the town and country community has truly expanded.

In this expansion many of the smaller localities have either declined in importance or disappeared altogether as separate units. Open country neighborhoods as associational units no longer exist in some parts of the nation. They are probably still strongest in the South. When one looks, however, at the larger places in the town and country trade areas, the larger multicounty centers, he sees for the most part substantial growth.

Many multicounty centers have relatively high rates of growth. During the period 1930 to 1960, centers of 10,000 to 100,000 more than doubled in numbers and increased from 17.9 percent to 25.9 percent of the total population. For the same period places of 100,000 and over declined from 29.4 to 28.4 percent of the total population.[8] Although some of the most rapidly growing of the intermediate size places were suburbs or areas within the rings of central cities of 100,000 or more, "independent" cities of 10,000—100,000 grew much more rapidly than the population as a whole.

Population trends during this last decade, especially the late sixties, have been even more favorable to the intermediate size centers and the nonmetropolitan population as a whole. For the period 1966-68 the Census Bureau estimated that the population grew more rapidly outside than inside the SmSA's, 2.5 percent as compared with 1.9 percent. Within the metropolitan areas the central cities lost 1.3 percent in population and suburban rings gained 4.8 percent.[9]

Two or More Fields in a Multicounty Area

Perhaps the most significant change at the ecological level to affect the social aspects of community has been the separation of work and residence. Modern man as contrasted with the resident of the traditional agricultural society lives in at least two types of worlds—a residential community and a community of work.[10] These two types of communities being used for different activities call for different types of social structures. These communities are to be seen as analytical types which more or less correspond to specific, empirical localities. They emphasize more social relationships and types of institutions and services than the spatial aspects of a locality.

The residential community is child and family centered with the dominance of primary groups having congeniality and leisure time interests. Some of the major agencies and organizations are retail stores, schools, and churches.

The second analytical type is the community of work. This comprises production and marketing areas of all types, ranging from mass communications to wholesale and labor markets. The production and marketing region is economically a relatively self sufficient type of locality. The community of work is expressed through both the county and the multicounty area in nonmetropolitan society; and the open country neighborhoods, villages, and small city neighborhoods may be seen as locales for the community of residence.

At least three types of localities exist in nonmetropolitan society, especially in the South, which serve as the basis for actual or potential interactional communities. These are the open county neighborhood, the county, and the multicounty area. The open country neighborhood as a declining unit has been mentioned. The county where the size of population is sufficient is holding its own. The county originated as a local government unit but its greatest support today as a community service area comes from (1) the organization of services of state and national government at this level and (2) the use of the county as a unit of organization by both local and external voluntary groups, e.g., economic educational, religious and others. The multicounty area gains recognition when service units larger than the county become feasible and desirable.

Type of Field and Nature of Integration

A concern for the nature of integration is essential for an adequate treatment of social structure.[11] The argument has been presented that an in-depth analysis of the structure of the multicounty area reveals not one, but two, three, or more actual or potential community fields. The question now arises as to the nature of integration within and among fields.

Two key complexes of factors at the ecological level and which definitely influence the social field, are (1) the size and density of population and the settlement pattern, and (2) the level of technology which is expressed in terms of production and consumption of goods and services. A rigorous analysis of community is not possible without control of the above two types of factors. When this precaution is not taken, the concept community is kept at a folk level, e.g., reference without qualifications to both a nomadic tribe of several hundred and a modern metropolitan region of several million.

The implication sometimes has been made from study of the classical societal typologies of Maine, Durkheim, Tönnies, etc., that the polar types of structures are separated in time and space. The position taken here is that this is frequently not the case today but rather the opposite is true. Modern man live in both a gemeinschaft and a gesellschaft or, in the terminology above, in both a community of residence and a community of work.

The different types of societies in the above typologies have different types of integration. "Consensus" or in Durkheim's terms "mechanical solidarity" is dominant in the small, simple, isolated groups, while "organic solidarity" or "the division of labor" is the chief source of integration in modern urban society.[12]

The position is taken here that the division of labor expresses differentiation and that integrative patterns do not necessarily follow as is seen in the massive disorganization of present day urban life. Furthermore, it is contended that patterns of integration should be appropriate to a given level of community field. For example, using an extreme case to make the point, a mothers' club can make its integrative contribution in a primary residential community, and a transportation authority in a region, but not vice versa.[13]

In discovering integration between and among fields, one looks at the local residents or actors. He observes that some have only a limited participation with family and friends, while others participate widely in the several fields. Some actors have a wide range of participation in fields from the primary group, residential ones to those of the larger society which are expressed largely through secondary relationships. Integration among social fields in a relatively complex locality like the multicounty area depends to no small extent on the behavior of actors participating in two or more fields. These actors may be termed generalized participants as they are not only likely to participate in two or more fields but also in two or more interest areas in any one field. The generalized participant, the central actor in community integration, also usually has intensive informal involvement as well as several memberships in organized associations.

Each of the three types of fields noted in the multicounty area has its unique type of integrative structure. The residential neighborhood, as noted above, is characterized by primary groups which directly serve the family. At the county and multicounty levels secondary relationships become important and dominant in larger populations. Government is a major association at both the county and the multicounty levels.

Rural sociologists observed years ago that development organizations involving all families in a neighborhood were effective as long as the population did not get too large and there were no competing organizations. Sanderson termed this a "direct" type of community organization as contrasted with the "indirect" type necessary in larger localities.[14] In the South where many open country neighborhoods still have maintained their identity, a number of community clubs still exist. At the county and multicounty level, the population is obviously too large for area-wide membership groups; thus, representative, multi-interest development associations are needed as a major integrating force.

Integration of the Multicounty Area

Whether the multicounty area can be regarded as a type of community or community field depends on the presence of integrative structures to make it so. As discussed in the preceding chapter two basic structures in the development of the modern community are the coordinating association and the service agency. Working together these two organizations serve as the instruments for the expression of both integration and differentiation which, as discussed above, are central processes in development.

Although this paper is not primarily data oriented a brief look needs to be taken at the presence of coordinating structures and service agencies in multicounty areas. A number of agencies providing jobs and other services operate at the multicounty level. Educational, health, and welfare interests are represented as well as economic, such as factories and wholesale firms. Educational institutions which frequently serve more than one county are junior colleges and vocational training centers. Health agencies of this type include speciality medical complexes and hospitals, comprehensive mental health programs and rehabilitation centers. Programs in agricultural education and marketing, forestry, and watershed development are also at times organized on a multicounty basis. Operating on a similar geographic basis as the above may also be church councils and conferences, athletic associations, etc.

Although it appears a number of services are operating in two or more counties; the critical question is how these services are interrelated through coordinating structures and generalized leadership. Preliminary observation reveals that they are not coordinated but operate largaly autonomously. For example, although there is some overlapping, a different set of counties are found in the junior college district then in the mental health program, and the OEO program is likely to have still another combination of counties.

The most distinctive and formal recognition of multicounty areas has not been by local communities but by state governments cooperating with federal agencies in the organization of development districts. One observation is that the major function of development districts thus far has been revenue sharing. It has been the agency for directing federal support for selected types of projects in the various localities in an area. True, the districts are acquiring technical staffs but these are used to plan state and federal, not community initiated programs. Thus, at present, multicounty areas appear more as potential, rather than as actual communities. They are noticeably lacking in two closely related forces essential for community development, especially in nonmetropolitan areas. These two essentials are comprehensive, multi-interest coordinating structures and volunteer generalized leadership.

In conclusion, a brief statement may be made concerning the political and economic potentials of multicounty areas. It appears clear after more than 50 years of effort that administrative governmental structures for multicounty areas are not to be the result of county consolidation. Rather some see counties eventually withering away, as have townships, after a number of years of effective functioning of coordinated multicounty service structures.

The multicounty unit has been conceptualized by Karl Fox as a "functional economic area." He regards these areas "as 'low-density' cites . . . relatively self-contained labor markets" and having "a relatively complete array" of goods and services of all types. Fox proposes that the United States be planned in terms of several hundred "semi-independent communities" of this type in addition to restructured metropolitan areas "of not more than 500,000 person." Similarity of the multicounty area and the metropolis is seen in several ways including the size and location of the shopping centers. Both have regional, district or county, and neighborhood centers, and the time to travel from one to the other is about the same whether in the metropolis or the rural-urban locality.[15]

To summarize, state and federal governments have strong interest in the organization of multicounty areas as administrative units, but externally based efforts are not enough for the multicounty area to develop as a community. Essential are locally based multi-interest structures in which are involved generalized leaders with development expertise and strong local identity and pride.

Footnotes

1. Rene König, The Community, New York: Schocken Books, Inc., 1968, p. 3. This book provides a highly focused and provocative treatment for one interested in analysis of community structure.

2. Multicounty is the vernacular of the day and is used for the want of a better term.

3. For a representative treatment of the locality from an ecological perspective, see Amos H. Hawley, Human Ecology, New York: The Ronald Press, 1950. For a critical review of the early work in the ecological field, see M.A. Alihan, Social Ecology, New York: Columbia University Press, 1938.

4. Two treatments which illustrate well this approach to the community are (1) Robert Redfield, *The Little Community*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956, and (2) Conrad M. Arensberg and Solon T. Kimball, *Culture and Community*, New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1965.

5. Cf. Roland L. Warren, *The Community in America*, Chicago: Rand McNally, 1963; and Irwin T. Sanders, *The Community: An Introduction to a Social System*, New York: Ronald Press, 1958.

6. Harold F. Kaufman and Kenneth P. Wilkinson, *Community Structure and Leadership: An Interactional Perspective in the Study of Community*, State College: Mississippi State University, Social Science Research Center, Bulletin 13, June 1967; and Kenneth P. Wilkinson, "The Community as a Social Field," *Social Forces*, Vol. 48, No. 3, March 1970. For an earlier statement of this perspective, see Harold F. Kaufman, "Toward an Interactional Conception of Community," *Social Forces*, Vol. 38, October 1959, pp. 8-17.

7. This treatment is developed in other papers by the writer and is expressed in terms of a dialectic. See the first chapter in this publication.

8. Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Census of Population 1960, Vol. 1, Characteristics of Population, Part I, United States Summary, pp. 13-15.

9. Herman Miller, *Trends in Social and Economic Conditions in Metropolitan Areas*, Washington, D. C. Government Printing Office, 1969, (Based on Bureau of the Census, Current Population, Series P-23, Special Studies No. 27).

10. John H. Kolb, *Emerging Rural Communities*, Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1959.

11. Cf. König, *op. cit.*, p. 127ff. He writes, "Now that we have broached the community structural problem, the question of integration becomes the real central point of our subject."

12. See Alvin Boskoff, in *The Sociology of Urban Regions*, New York: Appleton-Centry-Crofts, 1962, p. 281ff. Sociologists frequently take the position that the "processes" of organic solidarity are the essential ones in urban integration. Government, the press, and economic groups may be described as "latent coordinating structures," *ibid.*, pp. 286-288.

13. This is an example of what the writer has termed elsewhere "action-structure congruity" or "incongruity." See chapter I for the treatment of this notion.

14. See Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, Rural Community Organization, New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1939, Chapter VII. These authors discussed three types of rural community coordinating agencies: (1) the direct, (2) the indirect or council, and (3) special interest organizations such as the PTA and Farm Bureau.

15. Fox's conception of the "functional economic area" has been reported in a number of places. The quotations used here appeared in "Urban and Rural Strategy," Appalachia, Vol. 2, No. 10, August 1969, pp. 10-13.

THE COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION AND COMPREHENSIVE DEVELOPMENT*

The purpose of this paper is to examine the type of local social structure which makes possible effective comprehensive development. In this instance attention is focused on the community association as a type of local development structure. The locality, or local society, studied is a small city and its trade area[1] in the southern United States. The notions of comprehensive development and community structure are critically examined as a context for enumerating the characteristics of an effective structure. The data to support the argument consist of operational indices of structure as well as evidence of project accomplishment in the several interest areas of the local life.

Structural Dimensions

Much of the work on development, or planned change, has been at a macroscopic rather than microscopic level. Emphasis has been on development structures or processes[2] in general or at a societal level[3] over an indefinite period of time rather than on specific local populations over a designated period. This paper has the latter focus.

Development as change in social structure has two major analytical dimensions. One is the differentiation of structure--the elaboration of associations and the specialization of institutions. As documented below, the improvements and growth in the community studied were made possible by the creation of new associations in industry, agriculture, education, health, welfare, and other interest areas. Differentiation of structure, growing complexity of institutional and associational life, is widely accepted as a necessary basis and concomitant of technological growth.[4]

The second structural dimension of development is not nearly as well recognized. This is integration, or as expressed here, coordination, and is the major focus of this paper. Differentiation and integration or, as specifically described here, elaboration and coordination of associations, are necessarily reciprocal processes if social order is to be maintained. With respect to the basic notions in the title of this paper, elaboration points up the concept of development, and coordination is perhaps the basic process in community structure and is essential if comprehensiveness is to be realized.[5]

Comprehensive development is defined as a planned and coordinated type of activity in which the several institutional interest areas in a locality change and adjust one with the other toward the desired new forms. A case study of this type of change entails the description of the accomplishment of projects and less organized activities in the several interest areas of a locality. The problem of the paper is to investigate the characteristics

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of the local social structure essential for stimulating and coordinating this varied type of project accomplishment. Social structure and project accomplishment are two essential and interacting aspects of the community at a social level of analysis.[6] Projects as they are realized contribute to structure, and the structure in turn makes possible the goal attainment.

The essential features of an effective local structure for comprehensive development are classified into three types of factors or processes. These are (1) the creation or elaboration of new projects and structures to meet the recognized needs of the locality, (2) the coordination of various local organizations and agencies in project accomplishment to the end that comprehensive development is realized, and (3) an extensive but selective use of resources from the larger society in conducting the desired activities. The limited data presented below are organized to support this three-pronged proposition or inquiry.

New Structures and Projects

How new structures and projects have relevance for the notion of community as the concept is employed here needs to be made more explicit. The community may be analyzed in terms of at least three levels, namely, the ecological, the cultural, and the social or interactional. The community is thus a population residing in a given place, served by a configuration of institutions, and acting through a network of associations and informal groups. The new structures and projects, the essence and units of change, are the emerging community. As a context for the study of new organizations and projects a brief view of the changing population and economy of the area is presented.

The locale of the study is a small city and its trade area in the upland South. The population center has approximately 20,000 and the county 50,000. This county and the six surrounding counties have a total population of approximately 175,000. With the rapid shift of workers out of agriculture in the twenty-year period 1940-60, population of the area declined, but by the sixties with the decline of agricultural workers leveling off and a significant increase in industrial jobs the population began to grow. For the seven-county area estimated growth for 1960-66 was 10 percent. The number of jobs in manufacturing increased more than three times during the seventeen-year period 1950-67.

In planned change new structures and projects are frequently created to meet the needs of the locality. Preceding such action is an identification of the need and an articulation of the problem. People recognize that something is lacking or wrong and ask what can be done about it. At this point there is need for an organization that can translate words into action.[7] The structure must also cut across interest lines is comprehensive development is to result. In the locality described the Community Development Association[8] and cooperating groups provided this type of structure. The CDA which superseded the Chamber of Commerce was created in the mid-forties. It took over not only the traditional functions of the latter group but also had broader interests and was concerned with activities beyond the central city and county.

The problem focus of the development structure shifted with the needs of the locality through time. This shift was also related to regional and national changes. Prior to 1950 the major focus was on agriculture and open-country life. In the fifties the new efforts were primarily in locating new industry, in promoting business, and in insuring satisfactory industry and labor relations. By the sixties most of the new projects had welfare, health, or education objectives. This does not mean that in the last period industry and agriculture ceased to have the support of the CDA but rather that over the two decades a fairly comprehensive program had been realized.[9]

Much of the activity in any locality is conducted within institutionalized associations for the benefit of the members or other participants, e.g., school, church and factory. By contrast, community activities--actions, projects, or programs--are those necessary to meet needs which no existing association of the above type adequately handles. Community activities arise in several different types of interrelated structural situation. One is where need demands the cooperation of several groups. The second is where the need can be met only by creating a new structure. The third is where the need is so extensive and demanding that the existing structure is inadequate, such as the case of the school when public support is lacking or when public demands are conflicting.

Two types of new structures have been created by the CDA. One is a committee of the association, and the second is a new organization which soon becomes autonomous with respect to support. Whatever the nature of the new structure, however, coordination is maintained so that comprehensive development continues to be realized. Three of the largest and most significant projects may be taken as illustrative cases in the creation of structure.

In the mid-forties soon after the organization of the CDA the Neighborhood Improvement Program was established and organized in terms of 30 to 40 open-country neighborhood clubs in the two counties with a coordinating and planning council composed of representatives of these groups. The clubs supported projects including all the major interests of local life. The projects of the clubs have changed through the years with the needs of the localities.[10]

Contrasted with the neighborhood program, which is still sponsored by the CDA, are Upward, Inc., the local OEO program, and the seven-county Mental Health Organization. Upward was organized by the CDA shortly after national legislation was passed authorizing money to support poverty programs. As soon as it was staffed and adequately supported in the three-county area it was to serve, however, it became a separate and distinct corporation. The Mental Health Organization, as the local expression of national and state efforts in establishing community mental health facilities and the first approved organization of its type in the state, was never directly sponsored by the CDA. Rather it emerged from, or was "catalyzed" by, the formal and informal development network of the locality in which the CBA played the central role.

The Coordination of Organizations

As stated above, the coordination of organizations, or associations, and informal groups is perhaps the basic process in community structure and is essential if comprehensive development is to be realized. Coordination may be analyzed in terms of the interaction of key individuals, leaders, or with respect to the cooperation among associations. The latter is the approach here.[11] Cooperation is measured in terms of joint participation of associations in initiating and in supporting specific actions--projects and/or organized structures.

The actions used in the analysis are presented in Table 1 (Table 1 appears about here) and all were essentially community in nature as the term was defined in the preceding section. The list is based on an intensive survey in the community center in 1964 and includes activities during the preceding five years.[12]

Organizations are active in what the writers term the community field to the degree that they are involved in initiating and supporting community actions. Coordination is a critical type of involvement. The coordinative contribution of any given organization may be measured by (1) percent of interest areas in which involved, (2) percent of all actions in which participated, and (3) percent of all organizations engaged in community actions with which the given association had contact. Concerning its comprehensiveness of interest, an association may be classified as multi-interest, or generalized, and as single or limited interest.

Table 2 (Table 2 appears about here) shows the seven organizations and groupings of organizations[13] by the number of actions in which each of these participated in the five interest areas. Five of the seven are found in all of the interest areas. The banks and the Neighborhood Improvement Program were involved in actions of four interest areas out of five. Although the Neighborhood Improvement Council was a unit of CDA, the former group operating in the open country participated in the above actions separately from the other committees of the CDA.

Besides the seven agencies or groups of agencies in Table 2, 35 single interest and specialized organizations participated in the 21 actions. Almost all of the specialized organizations participated in actions in their interest area.

There were seven organizations involved in actions belonging to the interest area of agriculture and land use, five in business and industry, fourteen in health and welfare, seven in education, and two in public service. Thirty-one participated in one interest area, five in two areas, and only one in three.

In addition to participating in all but one of the actions in each of the five interest areas, the CDA had contact in carrying out the above actions with 32 of the 35 specialized organizations involved. As noted above the initiation of an action is also an important index of the role of an association in the community field. The CDA initiated solely or jointly 13 of the 21 actions and the two units of government not only initiated most community action but they also collaborated in supporting most of the activities. This close cooperation between a multi-interest, voluntary association, or associations, and government would appear to be an important factor in promoting comprehensive development.

Use of External Resources

An effective structure for comprehensive local development must not only be able to determine needs and to bring local resources to bear upon them but it must also be able to locate and utilize external resources.[14] These resources include technical knowledge and skill, financial support, and legal authority. No locality today could continue to exist, much less grow, without outside assistance.

All the 21 actions enumerated above except two received external support. The support came from state and federal agencies, private firms, voluntary organizations, and public utilities. Upward to two score of different organizations and agencies were reported to be involved. The 19 projects ranged from one to nine on different sources of external support reported with a mean of four. Generally those providing major public facilities had more different groups involved than other types of projects.

Two major ways by which external resources may reach a locality are (1) through the local offices of state, national, and other agencies, and (2) through direct application on the part of the community. The critical difference among localities probably rests with the initiative taken by the community, in this case the CDA. This organization was reported to have made a number of requests for external support. This takes some expertise, especially in relation to the federal government, where numerous programs are involved. Further evidence of the strength of the CDA in external contact is the fact that the locality studied had no special advantages such as natural resources, location, or size which would influence external agencies to give it preference without a strong and convincing local request.

Although outside support is usually desirable, the community must be selective in what it accepts if its identity is to be maintained and comprehensive development is to result. The critical question is to what extent can the community decide what its best interests are. The CDA in the locality studied was well known for the fact that it frequently requested agency personnel to adapt their program to what local leadership regarded to be to the best interests of the community.

An example of how external resources were utilized may be seen in the creation of the local OEO program, Upward, Inc., in 1965. Early in the year, community leaders began discussing a possible local program which might use federal funds. This was even before appropriations were voted for the activities in which they were to engage. A trip was made to Washington, regional officials were consulted, and visits were made to a neighboring locality which had secured support for a specialized OEO program.

The CDA provided the leadership for organizing a number of planning meetings in which leaders of interested groups and agencies participated. When the need for a local sponsoring group became obvious, the CDA created a special committee from its membership to plan, the administer funds, and to provide supervision of a community action program. Within a few months it became obvious that the local OEO program was of such magnitude that it needed a specially created agency to administer it. Accordingly, guidelines for creating such an agency were secured from OEO officials and a multicounty, nonprofit, biracial, sponsoring agency, Upward, Inc., was organized. Upward, Inc. had secured a full board of directors, had its charter approved, and was thus able to begin operating by the fall of 1965, less than a year after serious discussion of the possibility had begun. Such speed was possible in securing outside resources in the poverty work because there existed in the community before this particular problem arose an effective development structure.

The relative influence of local leadership to that of personnel of externally based agencies in local decision makeing is a critical factor in maintaining community structure. A relatively strong local coordinating structure appears to be essential if externally supported projects are to be interrelated and if a distinctive community pattern is to appear. Most localities appear to have, however, weaker coordinating structures than the one described in this paper and thus less distinctive community patterns.

Local Development and Community Theory

The purpose of this paper has been to examine the type of loca social structure which facilitates comprehensive development. Comprehensive development at the local level is concerned with consumptions as well as production. It focuses on the effective functioning of the several institutions and associations which make a locality desirable. Interests include education, religion, health and welfare as well as the economy and government. Adequate socialization may be considered equally as important as increased production.[15]

Limited data taken from a study of considerable magnitude are suggestive of certain structures and relationships. It is proposed that the structure essential for comprehensive effort is a multi-interest and coordinating type. It both elaborates and integrates. Such a structure, when needs arise, creates new forms and utilizes external as well as local resources. At the same time the structure effectively coordinates and interrelates all relevant efforts.

Sociologists have long been in search of a distinctive community structure in the modern world. Some have kept their analysis at strictly demographic and ecological levels. Others who emphasize the uniqueness and completeness of a given culture either see the community in eclipse[16] or existing only in national cultures.[17] Rene Konig makes the key point when he states that "the decisive question is whether there is really a specific structural community form."[18]

The writers propose that the multi-interest, coordinating type of structure described above is the distinctive community structure. How widespread this type of structure is poses an empirical question. Observations to date indicate that most localities depend to a much greater extent than the one described here on purely governmental and marketing associations for the coordination of local life, and these generally are not nearly as effective as the structure described in this paper.

Table 1. Community Actions as Reported in 1964 Classified by Interest Area

Interest Areas	Actions
Agriculture and Land Use	Neighborhood Improvement Council of CDA Forestry Development Unit of CDA Water Resources Development Unit of CDA Watershed Development Program
Business and Industry	Industrial Development Unit of CDA Merchants' Unit of CDA Commercial Development Unit of CDA Community Relations Association
Health-Welfare	Expansion of Community Hospital Rehabilitation Center Community Chest Recreation Unit of CDA City-County Recreation Program Minority Group Recreation Program
Education	School Expansion and Curriculum Revision Vocational and Technical Education Adult Education Program University Extension Center
Public Service	City Planning Commission Urban Renewal and Public Housing Finance Unit of CDA

Table 2. Organizations and Groupings of Agencies by Number of Actions in Which Participated in Each of the Interest Areas

Type of all Organizations	All Areas	Agri. & Land Use	Business & Industry	Health & Welfare	Education	Public Service
Total Number of Actions	21	4	4	6	4	3
CDA	20	4	4	6	3	3
Industries and Businesses	17	4	4	4	3	2
Civic Clubs	15	3	4	5	1	2
Newspaper	14	4	2	4	3	1
Local Govt.	13	3	2	4	2	2
Banks	10	3	3	3	0	1
Neighborhood Improvement Council	8	3	2	2	1	0

Footnotes

1. Only the data from one place in a comparative analysis of two communities are employed in this paper because of space limitations.

2. Structures and processes are regarded as opposite sides of the same coin. For a given structure there is a reciprocal process, or processes, and vice versa.

3. Typical of recent work by sociologists are Marion J. Levy, Jr., Modernization and Structure of Societies, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, two vols., 1966; and a shorter treatment, J. R. Gusfield, "Tradition and Modernity: Misplaced Polarities in the Study of Social Change," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 72, January 1967, pp. 351-361.

4. At the institutional level a most common measure of complexity is the diversity of occupations. Associational complexity may be measured in terms of the number of institutional interest areas, e.g., economic, educational, etc., in which organizations are found and the number of organizations within any given area as well as the total number in a locality.

5. For a more detailed discussion of these, one should investigate what the writers and their colleagues designate as "a field theory" of community and community change. See, Harold F. Kaufman and Kenneth P. Wilkinson, Community Structure and Leadership, State College: Mississippi State University, Social Science Research Center Bulletin 13, June 1967; and Harold F. Kaufman, "Toward an Interactional Conception of Community," Social Forces, Vol. 38, No. 1, October 1959. More extensive and definitive discussions are in manuscripts not yet published.

6. Ibid.

7. Many localities take the first step but never complete the second.

8. This is a pseudonym along with a number of others. Pseudonyms used here may more accurately indicate the function of a group than its real name. Hereafter, the Community Development Association is referred to as CDA.

9. In fact most of the designated project monies of the CDA continued to be spent on industrial and business promotion, and on agriculture and open-country improvement. The CDA has an annual budget of approximately $100,000 raised from its membership of several hundred firms and individuals. Funds for education, health, and welfare projects come largely from government sources.

10. For a detailed description of this type of program, see Harold F. Kaufman, Community Development Programs in the Southeast, State College: Mississippi State University, Social Science REsearch Center, Community Series No. 9, June 1956.

11. Presentation of the data on leadership is beyond the scope of this paper.

12. These actions were locality-oriented in the sence that actors and/or beneficiaries were local, the goals expressed local interest, and the activities were public. In other words, the selection of the actions was made on the basis of magnitude and degree of locality orientation. The actions studied short-range activities of task accomplishment such as building a rehabilitation center, school, etc., as well as activities to develop organizations and agencies to sponsor continuous activity in an interest area.

A selected number of respondents who participated actively in a specific program were interviewed for information on actions in terms of initiators and sponsors, objectives, arguements, individual actors, groups and organizations, local and non-local resources, and beneficiaries in the action. The respondents were also asked to give a narrative description of the actions in which they participated including the chronology of events and the names and behaviors of individuals and groups involved.

13. Local industries and businesses, civic clubs, local government and banks were groupings of organizations rather than a single organization.

14. The relation of the locality to the larger society is one of the most significant issues today in both community theory and practice. Cf. Roland L. Warren, The Community in America, Chicago: Rand McNally and Co., 1963, especially Chapters 3, 8, 9. Warren uses the term "vertical" instead of external.

15. Cf. Don Martindale's three general social processes in his Institutions, Organizations, and Mass Society, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966, p. xv.

16. See Maurice R. Stein, The Eclipse of Community, Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1960.

17. Cf. Don Martindale, Part II "Changing Forms of the American Community," American Society, Princeton, N. J.: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc. 1960.

18. See Rene Konig, The Community, New York: Schocken Books, 1968, p. 3.